

# LIBERATION STRUGGLE

An international anti-imperialist monthly forum, mainly for and by militants in the overseas communities in Britain and Europe, covering the direction of events in Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, the Middle East and with a special focus on Africa.

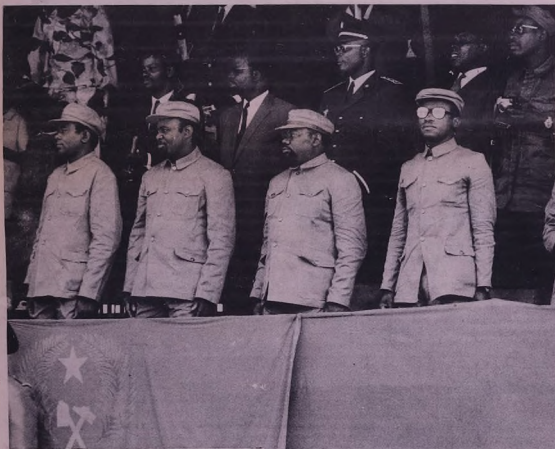
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## Revolution Continues In Congo-Brazzaville



Members of the Congolese Workers Party, the first ruling Marxist-Leninist party in Africa

The People's Republic of the Congo, the first African state to declare itself a 'Communist experiment', has been in the news over two issues: the recent attempted coup d'état and the struggle against foreign corporations as a result of the neo-colonialist economy the socialist government inherited.

The attempted coup d'état is a culmination of the internal difficulties the ruling party (the Congolese Workers' Party) has been going through. How fast and how far should a declared new socialist state nationalise the means of production? What should its relations with imperialist powers and reactionary neighbouring countries be? These are some of the major issues which have been causing difficulties among Congo-Brazzaville Marxist-Leninists. It is reported that foreign imperialist agents provocateurs have also been implicated in the situation.

The coup failed and the news once again centres around the struggle against capitalist monopolies.

The People's Republic of the Congo is one of the most exciting African states. It has given inspiration to progressive people throughout Africa. *Liberation Struggle* will give Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea, Somalia and Tanzania more attention as these are some of the most dynamic countries in Africa. We will support their anti-imperialist struggle and the progressive reforms they carry out. But at the same time, we will try to point out the correct line for the benefit of our readers where we find deviations.

### CAPITALIST FORCES TRY TO DIVERT THE MASSES

Correct sympathetic reports and analyses will be given on some of these countries, as we believe people from the Exploited World have a lot to learn from them.

Here we reproduce the editorial of the Congo-Brazzaville Workers' Party weekly newspaper *Etumba* (22nd January 1972). It discusses the way through which capitalist forces try to turn the masses against a revolutionary government and

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## Black Struggle In Australia

by DELIA DUMARESQ

The 2nd class citizenship of the Aborigines, victims of both individual and institutional racism, has just been re-affirmed by the Australian government.

We often hear of Australia as subject to neo-colonialism, but little of her colonial aspirations and the 140,000 indigenous Australians. On Australia Day this year (26th January) - 200 years after the first criminal annexation of Aboriginal lands - the new policy on land rights was published, reinforcing the Supreme Court's ruling of April 1971 that 'Australian law does not recognise Aboriginal title to land in Australia', and in the true spirit of colonial interests, that the 'relationship of the Aborigines with the land was not sufficiently economic to amount to a proprietary interest'.

### LAND RIGHTS THE FOCAL POINT

Australia remains the only English-speaking nation which does not recognise the land rights of the indigenous population. Over 50 per cent of

Aborigines are fringe-dwellers, picking up odd jobs at wages about half the legal minimum (only on 27th January 1972 did the AWU, one of the two largest unions in Australia, lift its ban on 'coloured' workers joining) and 45,000 still live on desert-condition reserves, hunting for food. The question of land rights has become the focal point of the Aborigines' struggle against Australian racism.

Prime Minister McMahon's statement that 'a general lease for land on Aboriginal Reserves... may be applied for by Aborigines... they will be granted if the applicants can demonstrate... they have the intention and ability to make reasonable economic use of the land... and (leases) will be for periods up to 50 years

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why the masses must be politicised to understand the nature of the enemy and his tricks.

"The most political of the economic battles at the moment is the battle against the raising of prices in the People's Republic of the Congo."

The French economist Albertini, whose works are on sale in the popular book-shops, writes significantly:

"In order to avoid being mere intellectual or Utopian reverie, the intervention of the 'committed' man in the struggle must be situated in the heart of the forces which control the economy. It must never be forgotten that economic power is directly or indirectly a power to organise society for production and consumption; it is thus a power over men and the conditions in which they live. Well directed, this power will participate in the creation of a more human society; wrongly directed, it hinders the full flowering of human culture."

This thought explains why the Party attaches such a special importance to the conquest of economic power.

As long as foreign domination exists, the economy will be controlled by foreign monopolies, which means that there will be no real political independence either, and any victories won by the working class and the Congolese Workers Party can only be a drop in the ocean. The real political independence here referred to is none other than this power to organise Congolese society to improve the living conditions and to foster a real growth in the lives of our people.

#### FOREIGN MONOPOLIES PLAY FOR HUGE STAKES

The power to organise the economy of our country is crucially important in the present context. One aspect of the neo-colonial condition of the economy is the frantic raising of prices by the foreign monopolies, which are playing for huge stakes, whilst their Congolese lackeys, lured by the bait of easy profits, follow in their footsteps. We have felt the effects of this phenomenon especially keenly since the beginning of this year as the whole direction of the President's speech on December 31st 1971 was deliberately ignored by the gravediggers of the revolution and those Congolese who have been led astray by the siren-song of Profit at Whatever Cost. What, in fact, did the President of the Central Committee say? We quote:

"In the field of commerce and price-control a more serious effort will be made to hamstring the price rises and make possible regular basic consumption for our people. We hope that the foreigners in business here will understand clearly that they should fully appreciate the hospitality and cooperation we offer them, and that in return they are obliged not to raise prices artificially, especially on the most essential goods and services. In any case no taxes in 1972 will be added to these categories of goods."

#### RIISING PRICES A FORM OF VIOLENCE

So, what then are we saying exactly? We are saying that the good faith of the People's Republic of the Congo has been betrayed, that the hospitality and cooperation offered in good heart

have been repayed by scorn and economic aggression manifest in galloping price increases. We are saying that the Congolese economy is becoming the vehicle, by means of the violence perpetrated on the purchasing power of the Congolese consumer, of the neo-colonial counter-revolution.

The element of violence occurs in fact every day. When the housewife at the market runs smack into uncontrolled prices, she is being subjected to a kind of violence which, in economic terms, weakens her purchasing power. When workers, of low and middle incomes, are brought painfully up short by the prices in the shops, they are the victims of a form of violence. The results of this violence appear when these workers can only meet their family responsibilities by eventually submitting to exploitation by ruthless moneylenders. Consequently, in most Congolese homes household budgets are rendered completely inadequate. When the drop is sharp, it strikes at families' legitimate aspirations towards a fuller life.



President Marien Ngouabi

Faced with such a situation should we say nothing? We say No. We say No because the neo-colonial counter-revolutionary offensive by means of economic violence on the Congolese consumer amounts to the sabotage of our institutions, to the deliberate creation of a situation criminally designed to bring down the revolutionary regime. We give solemn warning to those who live by sucking the blood of our Congolese people.

#### OUR ENEMIES CAME WITH WEAPONS WE SMASHED THEM WITH WEAPONS

Our enemies came with weapons; we smashed them with weapons. They counter-attacked with slander; here again we disarmed them. Our enemies are back with their secret weapon - meteoric price rises; on this battle-ground also we are certain that the Revolution will inflict the harsh punishment they deserve on those who commit the shameful crime of starving our people.

Even in the capitalist countries there exists a kind of social contract by which the private sector recognises the role of the state, as the manager of the general interest, in creating an equilibrium between the means and the needs of its citizens. In the People's Republic of the Congo this equilibrium is being deliberately destroyed by the private sector which is doing all it can to reduce the purchasing power of the people, knowing that the result will be internal tensions likely to culminate in social unrest. We are familiar with the symptoms of this unrest: strikes which are often irresponsible, misdirected thinking among the people.

#### NEO-COLONIALISM THE SOURCE OF THE PROBLEM

In fact the masses must learn to understand that the source of the problem (Continued on page 6)

## EASTER SPECIAL ISSUE

Since universities have closed for a four-week Easter Holiday and this affects Liberation Struggle distribution, especially in Britain, CMJ thought what was needed was a 16-page Easter Special issue covering the March/April period. This will also allow us to produce the May and future issues during the first week of each month, as opposed to the last week of the month as has been the case up to now.

All material submitted for publication should reach us by the 20th of each month, to allow time for editing and typesetting. We wish all our readers a revolutionary happy holiday!



(BLACK STRUGGLE *otd from page 1*)

(but) all mineral and forest rights are reserved to the Crown - i.e. to the government's collaborators: the large English pastoral company, Lord Vestey's Union International; the 70 per cent Swiss-owned Nabaco company; and the US and Japanese mining monopolies. The government's benevolence is overwhelming!

To assist our black comrades a fund of A\$5 million has been set up which will purchase the leases for the Aborigines at low interest rates and a further fund through the 'Aboriginal Advancement Trust Account to enable grants, as well as loans, to be made to Aboriginal enterprises with reasonable prospects of success.'

#### GROWING MILITANCY

The total failure of the National Tribal Council, the Council for Aboriginal Affairs and others (basically white liberal-dominated) to secure the basic recognition of their land rights has led to a growing militancy. Last year Dennis Walker resigned in disgust as Secretary of the National Tribal Council to found the Black Panther Movement: calling for armed struggle to secure land rights and no further cooperation with white liberals.

Learning from their American brothers, a Breakfast Fund has been established in 'ghetto' Sydney to provide the children with at least one meal a day - their welfare is at present under the auspices of the Ministry for Environment, Aborigines and Arts!

More pointedly, on 26th January this year, the Aboriginal Embassy to Australia came into being with its High Commissioner, Michael Anderson, Vice-Chairman of the New South Wales Aboriginal Lands Board, the Minister for Caucasian Affairs and a small support staff. Their slogan: "We're aliens in our own land."

#### ADVERTISE IN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

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# CHILE and TANZANIA: the violent struggle ahead

by MANUEL ISIDRO BELZUA

*Can the struggle for liberation and revolutionary socialism be achieved without violence? The leaders of two countries in two continents claim that it is possible. Here a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT discusses the possibility of a non-violent socialist struggle in Chile and Tanzania.*

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Salvador Allende of Chile both run bourgeois social-democrat regimes that have socialised painted up on the destination board. Both have conducted themselves with sufficient political skill to earn the approval if not always the praise of a wide spectrum of opinion. China, the Soviet Union and much left-of-centre bourgeois opinion in the imperialist world have extended their sympathy and on occasion their assistance. But is this optimism about the socialist future of Tanzania and Chile justified?

## A CRUCIAL BASE AREA

Certainly one must admit at the outset that the existence of these regimes has been of immense positive value in the world-wide struggle against imperialism and racism. Tanzania has not only established warm and friendly relations with those countries in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle - Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba - but it is also a crucial base area for the liberation movements fighting the racist regimes further to the south. Tanzania's close friendship with China, and the independent development of Nyerere's political thought along China's lines, are factors of immense importance for Africa, where the primacy of the rural masses must eventually be recognised as the first priority of any government.

Chile too has made its impact. The almost unforeseen election of the 'Unidad Popular' government in 1970 took the United States by surprise. Bugged down in Vietnam, fearful of a growing public opinion hostile to intervention abroad, the Nixon administration was forced to accept the Allende government as an accomplished fact. Though it would be difficult to categorise his actions so far as Marxist, President Allende himself is a Marxist as are many members of his cabinet, and this in itself is a blow to American policy which for more than two decades has sought to prevent Marxist participation in government in any Latin American country. Since his election Allende has expropriated the American copper companies (nationalisation without compensation) and has established close links with Cuba.

## HIGHLY VULNERABLE

Nevertheless, while admitting the significance of the existence of progressive, anti-imperialist regimes in Tanzania and Chile, it must also be noted that both these countries are politically isolated in their continents, both leaders are highly vulnerable, and the move towards socialism is still very much in the future. Tanzania is bound to the north by Kenya and Uganda, both heavily mortgaged to American and British capital and

actively pursuing anti-socialist policies. Chile too is blocked to the north by the openly reactionary and pro-imperialist regime of General Banzer, the President of Bolivia.

The danger of counter-revolutionary subversion manipulated from outside is a real one for both countries. In addition, both in Chile and in Tanzania the success of the anti-imperialist experiment depends very much on the existence of one man. Tanzanian socialism is at present very much the work of the President, while in Chile, though Allende does not have the intellectual power and eminence of Nyerere, his peculiar political skill is an essential element in maintaining the unity of the progressive coalition that he heads. Without Nyerere and Allende, the present Chilean and Tanzanian road to socialism would be unthinkable.

## STILL TIED TO THE WEST

But how far has this move to socialism really gone? In spite of the anti-imperialist rhetoric, both Chile and Tanzania are still very tied to the West. The two largest donors of 'aid' to Tanzania are the Chinese and the American-funded and financed World Bank. Though efforts have been made to cut



President Nyerere of Tanzania

down on the need for foreign funding, the Tanzanian development plan is still heavily dependent on outside monies. The same is true of Chile, where economic policy is still a hand-to-mouth, day-to-day affair. The need to attract foreign capital is still a predominant feeling in the government.

In addition, both Chile and Tanzania are members of international organisations dominated by the imperialist powers: Chile of the Organisation of American States which is run for the benefit of the United States and the Latin American oligarchy; and Tanzania of the Commonwealth, which exists to perpetuate Britain's cultural

and economic grip on its former colonies. There cannot be many international organisations which are more Western, or under greater Western influence, than the Commonwealth', Nyerere said in 1965.

It is clear, then, that both countries are very far from the goal that they have set themselves. The question is: how much further can they go without running into the kind of violent opposition that a Marxist analysis of the dynamic of economic and social change prepares us to regard as virtually inevitable? Sooner or later, surely, the policy of 'creeping socialism' is bound to come up against forces that will not succumb peacefully.

It is undeniable that both countries are still moving forward in a socialistic direction. The nationalisation of buildings in Tanzania, the publication of the Tanu 'Mwongozo', and the formation of a people's militia were all positive steps, as are the reform measures being put into practice in Chile under old legislation.



Allende, Chile's President

## COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES REGROUPING

But is there not a danger that the very slow pace of change is giving time to counter-revolutionary forces to regroup and to prepare for a new offensive? The landlords in Chile, and the kulaks in Tanzania are not likely to accept the withdrawal of their privileges without a fight. A more potent threat is the strength and coherence in both countries of the urban bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary socialism demands an emphasis on equality, and in both Tanzania and Chile this will involve a decline in the standard of living of the urban classes if there are to be meaningful moves towards parity with the rural workers. Yet the urban middle classes are deeply entrenched in both countries, and any move against them - like the ban on the import of private cars in Tanzania and the curb on luxury imports in Chile - will increase their degree of disaffection.

The outlook at present for both countries is not very promising. Allende's attempt to be all things to all men, coupled with a distinct softening of his attitude towards the middle class, is causing deep concern on the revolutionary left, and there must now be serious doubts about the lasting cohesion of the 'Unidad Popular' coalition.

Nyerere, too, is coming under increasing internal and external pressure. His development programme is jeopardised by the World Bank threats to withdraw its financial promises, and for the first time the socialist 'ujamaa'

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(CHILE/TANZANIA *otd* from page 3)

blueprint in the countryside is running into serious opposition. In both countries, it seems, the possibility of the peaceful road to socialism being peaceful much longer is nil.

\*Manuel Isidro Belzu, the pseudonym of our Special Correspondent, is the name of a revolutionary president in Bolivia in the nineteenth century who spoke on behalf of the Indian masses against the Spanish white aristocrats. He once wrote: "Cholos: while you are living in hunger and misery, your oppressors, who call themselves gentlemen and exploit your labour, are living in opulence. You must learn that everything before your eyes belongs to you because it is the fruit of your hard work. The wealth of those who call themselves nobles is a rape committed on you."

What's cooking in heaven?

A European missionary had been speaking about heaven. At the end of his address an African asked him: "How wonderful must be this place, Heaven, which you have been telling us about! But there is one thing more I would like to know about it. Who are the masters there?" Before the puzzled missionary could answer, the African asked further: "Could it be the English?" "Oh no!" replied the missionary, "you don't understand." Rather crestfallen, the African retorted: "If the English are not in charge, then Heaven cannot be such a good place as you described." "Why not?" asked the missionary. "Sir," replied the African, "if it were a good place the English would have colonised it long ago." (From Bankole Timothy's book *MISSIONARY SHEPHERDS AND AFRICAN SHEEP*, published by Daystar Press, Ibadan, Nigeria)

# BANGLADESH

THE POSITION OF THE LEFT

Here *LIBERATION STRUGGLE* publishes a statement by the Communist Party (ML) led by Md. Toaha. The statement (of which we can only publish part, because of shortage of space) illustrates how the advent of Bangladesh is a temporary setback for the people's socialist revolution in East Bengal, at present Bangladesh.

The contradictions between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Awami League of East Pakistan and the Yahya Khan-led West Pakistan national bourgeoisie were transformed into armed conflict after the 1971 General Election in East Pakistan.

## POST-ELECTIONS

1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as usual went to jail and the rest of the Awami League leadership fled to India, leaving the people to their fate. The barbarous attack of the Pak Army, however, met with the resistance of the people. At places under the leadership of our Party (Communist Party - Marxist-Leninist) and at other places under the leadership of spontaneously organised sporadic groups of patriotic fighters, the revolutionary people started resisting the onslaught of the Pak army. Gradually these sporadic battles were being polarised and transformed into a National Revolutionary War under the leadership of our Party. This scared the counter-revolutionary forces both inside and outside the country. The Awami League leadership, that had taken refuge in India, could think of no other alternative but to fall a willing victim to the counter-revolutionary machinations of the imperialist powers and the Indian expansionists.

The two super-powers, the US imperialists and the Russians in their respective interests as well as in their common interests to check the revolution in our country and also with a view to fit our country in their global strategy against the People's Republic of China and the national liberation struggles of South-East Asia, escalated this conflict into a full-scale war with the help of the Indian expansionists who had always cherished a design on our country.

## IMPERIALISTS VIE WITH EACH OTHER

The loss of lives and properties due to this war is incalculable. The world outside does not know what a great genocide and hundreds of tragic

'My-lais' were committed on the unfortunate soil of East Bengal only to serve the counter-revolutionary plan of imperialism.

Today the people of our country are given to understand that the governments of the Soviet Union and India have helped our national liberation; our country is declared to be an independent and sovereign state. But the reality of the situation proves this claim to be illusive in the gradually awakening eyes of our people. In their race for establishing their respective neo-colonial superiority over our country both the super-powers competed with each other. The Soviet Union having reciprocal closeness of interests with India, joined hands and got the upper hand on the US imperialists. The Indian expansionists with the active support and material help from the Soviet Union launched aggression against our country and have occupied it. Today East Bengal renamed as Bangladesh has become a protectorate of India. Thus the People's Republic of Bangladesh owes its origin and existence to the armed intervention of the Indian expansionists with the active support and material help of the Soviet Union and also a section of the US ruling classes. In short, our country has come under the collective neo-colonial subjugation of the imperialist powers. And the only visible change that has taken place is that the number of foreign exploiters has increased.

The penetration of Indian capital has already exposed itself shamelessly and nakedly. Apart from the covert grabbing of strategic positions in our economy, the Indian aggressors have dismantled several of our jute mills installations and other industries at Khulna, Chittagong, Dacca and other places and have removed these to India as war booties. They

have also taken away our arms with several hundred crores surrendered by the Pak army.

The penetration of Indian capital is having its impact on our economy, resulting in adverse balance in our import and export trade.

## HARSHER FEUDAL OPPRESSION OPERATES

The internal socio-economic setup of the age-old semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy is maintained as it had been, with the added strength of the feudal exploiters in the rural areas having support from the private armed bands such as the Mujib Bahini and the armed forces of the Bangladesh government. In some places the Razakars (Pak Army auxiliaries) have also been integrated with the Mujib Bahini. The consequence of this added strength of the feudal exploiters, particularly the evil gentry in the rural areas, has been simply bewildering and is contrary to the expectation of the people. For example: In the course of the struggle the revolutionary peasants under the leadership of our Party liberated certain areas in several districts, recovered the land of the poor peasants forcibly grabbed by the juddars and restored those to their rightful owners. In those areas progressive land reforms were also introduced by the peasants' committees. But after the takeover by the Bangladesh Government the previous land-grabbers have again recaptured those lands, looted the paddy of the poor peasants and forcibly collected huge sums of money with the help of the armed forces at their disposal. In almost every place the collaborators of the Pak Army have turned into local patrons and guides of the Mukti Bahini. On the one hand a section of the Mukti Bahini killed hundreds of genuine Freedom Fighters, who had fought against the Pak Army and the agent/collaborator of the Pak Government, while on the other, the Mukti Bahini people, including some of the commanders in some cases, fell victim to the attacks conspiratorially engineered by the influential juddars. Honest freedom fighters belonging to the Awami League also shared the same fate. This annihilation campaign continues under the very nose of the Bangladesh Government.

## NEW DANGER OF GLOBAL WAR

The establishment of Bangladesh now under the control of India has given complete shape to the anti-China bulwark which the super-powers have long since been trying to build up. Along with it the presence of the super-powers in our soil has exposed our country to the danger of risky involvements in the big-power conflict that may engulf the People's Republic of China and the whole of South-East Asia.

## THE TASK BEFORE THE PEOPLE

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the growing indomitable urge of our people to achieve their emancipation that had characterised the whole political development over two decades prior to March 25th, 1971 and after has been awfully betrayed; and the People's Democratic Revolution has suffered a temporary setback.



(BANGLADESH *etd from opposite*)

The task before our Party and the people, therefore, is to transform our country into a real People's Democratic Republic, completely free from foreign domination and exploitation politically, economically and militarily.

For achieving these objectives, our Party will make all efforts to unite all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces from all walks of life - the peasants and the workers, the youth and students, the patriotic intellectuals and also the patriotic national bourgeoisie - on a broad programme for peace, freedom, democracy and self-sustaining people's economy with the ultimate objective of achieving socialism in our country, as charted by the great teachers and leaders of socialism - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

Lastly, our Party takes note of the existence of large number of patriots outside our Party who honestly believe that socialism is the only answer to our mounting problems, but are confused about the correct path. We invite them to join hands with us and fight for the emancipation of our people.



## distribution

A REVOLUTIONARY DUTY

How do I participate in the struggle of black people, the struggle of working class people and the struggle of oppressed people? What role can I play in the struggle? These are the questions many progressive and would-be progressive people ask themselves.

Surely every person has a role to play in the struggle. Your education, level of consciousness, colour and background do not prevent you from playing a role in the struggle to change the oppressive system in almost every part of the world.

One role you could play in the struggle is to politically educate yourself, your contacts and all those around you. You could collect and distribute information. The Centre for Writers and Journalists from the Exploited World (CWJ) could help you do that. You could become a Distribution Contact for Liberation Struggle.

### TELL US HOW MANY YOU WANT

You could sell a number of copies of *Liberation Struggle* every month if you tell us how many you want. Those you find you can't sell, you could sell at a reduced price, or even give some free to people you consider might be serious contacts.

You could take 30% (for your personal use) of the money you get from selling the newspaper or any other documents we may send you.

By selling the paper you are spreading the gospel which can save our people from oppression and exploitation. Being a CWJ Distribution Contact, you are performing an important function in the struggle as a revolutionary news-worker.

If you are interested, please contact: The Distribution Manager, CWJ, (address at foot of last page).

## ELDRIDGE CLEAVER ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

The final part of AHMED RAJAB's interview with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria. Rajab asked Cleaver, who early this year took up a post in the Afro-American Liberation Army, a number of questions on the formation of the Black Panthers, the split in the leadership of that organisation, the nature of Cleaver's own philosophy and the impressions he had gained on a recent trip to the People's Republic of the Congo. The first and second sections of the interview appeared in our January and February issues. At the time of the interview Cleaver was still Minister of Information, Black Panthers International Section.

RAJAB: Can you elaborate a little on your thesis that we have to move from 'internationalism' to 'intercommunalism'?

CLEAVER: This is a very complicated question to deal with because in a way words like 'internationalism' and some of the other words that have come from Huey Newton really are a substitute for some other terms that are already universally accepted by people. The basic foundation of this point of view is the recognition that the USA is not an entity that is confined to the domestic territorial confines of the USA, but in fact it is at the head of an empire of oppression that is international.

In terms of the practical problems confronted by the oppressed people, they have to deal with a set of international machinery that is really an international empire with 'units' such as the countries in NATO. This is an international machinery that coordinates itself in oppressing people. We do not recognise an independent existence of Portugal aside from the US, but we see that they have a working relationship. The same for Israel, the same for South Africa, Rhodesia and the other puppet regimes that exist throughout the world. They are all part of a system that is an empire.

### 'BABYLON'

You may look, for instance, at the gathering that recently took place in Iran to commemorate the 25th century of the monarchy of the Shah of Iran - where you saw pulled together the empire of Babylon - all the representatives of the various reactionary, fascist regimes, and with two or three people that we feel should not have been there. We think that this is a good image of what we refer to as the empire of Babylon.

Now, since this system itself is international in scope, going across boundaries, cutting across borders, we feel that this creates a situation where there are 'pockets' of people around the world defined as 'nations' of people who are caught up in this system and oppressed by it. In order to drive home this point Huey Newton described it in terms of this being one world system and that these nations are only communities trapped inside the system. Many people understand when we use such terms as 'international proletarian solidarity'. This is a recognition of the international nature of the oppression that we have to deal with. So on the basis of that it is only logical and reasonable for people who are oppressed to coordinate their struggle as much as they can on an international basis - against an international enemy.

RAJAB: How do you co-ordinate the struggle of the white working class in America with your struggle?

CLEAVER: Through meetings, discuss-

ions, the exchange of information, through joint activities and rallies, through joint work on some problems such as housing, political prisoners, whatever happens to be the problem that we are dealing with. And even on some levels there are many whites who are involved in the clandestine activities in the United States. We are in touch with various groups of people who work on their level and there is some coordination of activities on that level.

RAJAB: The word I think I should have used is 'relate'. How do you relate your struggles?

CLEAVER: If you mean on a theoretical level, then we recognise that Afro-American people have some problems that are specific to them because of the history of the struggle from the point of slavery; the whites were not enslaved in the sense that we were. So this gave us some special problems; and there has been a history and a heritage from these problems. So we have to deal, on the one hand, with a national question and at the same time we have to deal with a general class question. We think that at this point it is very relevant to employ the Marxist-Leninist principle that 'in the final analysis national problems are class problems'.



Bobby Seale (left) and Huey Newton

A national question is a class question. So we look at it in that way and our position is that there must be a revolution inside of the 'mother country' as we call it - the USA. And we call for national liberation for the black colony and revolution in the 'mother country', and in this sense from this ideological position we coordinate our activities, say the anti-war activity which is really the focus of much activity of white Americans who are militant and revolutionary in their opposition to the war. The opposition that people put up to this vital interest of the ruling class is a form

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of class struggle. Of course, we support the anti-war activities, and we carry on anti-war activities ourselves so that there is much working together around that issue.

There is much working together around the struggle of the Afro-American people because the white progressives in the United States support the struggle of the Afro-American people. So there is always backward and forward coordination and coordination between us.

**RAJAB:** You talked earlier on of your visit to the People's Republic of the Congo and we have seen an interview you had with the comrades there...how much of it was rhetoric as opposed to the reality that existed?

**CLEAVER:** Our whole approach and our attitude toward the situation was one of good faith towards our comrades-in-arms. We were not in a position to look at every statement that they made and make an investigation to see how they apply it. We felt that we had discussions with some very sincere

humanistic comrades who were sincere about what they were doing and who have their lives on the line, and who are under attack by the combination of the imperialists of the world because of the strong position that they have taken in opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism. We think they have a very good and clear line and I think it's right to make judgements based on the correctness of the political line and what a person says, and then you can investigate to find out what they are doing.

I noticed that recently at the Conference in Somalia (in Mogadishu) the People's Republic of the Congo took a vanguard position in opposing some of the harmful things that are taking place in Africa. So I would say that the comrades are sincere in what they said and in what they believe, and they clearly admitted some of their shortcomings; they clearly pointed out the problem that they have with the vestiges of their national bourgeoisie. They did not try to hide this. They even spoke about individuals who are still functioning but who they recognise to be a class enemy. So I think that they have a problem that they have to deal with, but I do not regard what they were saying as just rhetoric.

#### WHY ALGERIA

**RAJAB:** How to be personal, why did you choose Algeria to live in when you left the USA?

**CLEAVER:** We are able to do what we are doing here today and what we have been doing for over a year here. Our Bureau here in Algeria opened officially on September 13th 1976 - and this is something which we cannot do in some other places. There are many countries that claim to be revolutionary that would not allow us to function as we are allowed to function here. That's why we are here.

**RAJAB:** Any last words from you relating to the oppressed of the world?

**CLEAVER:** I would just like to point out one thing: I think it is very very critical at this point for those who are still oppressed to form a tighter unity because those who are already liberated, those who have

their independence and their sovereignty, cannot be fully depended upon to liberate us. We must combine our activities and our forces as much as possible as quickly as we possibly can because we know that US imperialism has a global strategy, and particularly for the black people of the world - there is no future for the black people in the world according to the plan of the US imperialists.

And we think that it is highly important for people to have a very strong grasp of ideology in order to protect them against the political change that take place in the world, an ideology that would enable them to unite on the basis of principles in order to carry out the struggle. It is very important for this to take place and that people move on that as quickly as possible because we are running behind the tide of events and there may not even be enough time left. We have a responsibility to move as fast as we can because there is the possibility that we can be successful, but by moving slow there is no possibility and no future for us.

## Congo

(Continued from page 2)

is neo-colonialism so that they can act against it appropriately. This is why this year belongs, among other things, to the education of the people. The people must be educated to know their friend and how to fight their enemies. They must understand the mechanisms of rising prices, the undeclared objective of which is to destroy the revolutionary regime which alone can liberate the Congolese masses from ignorance and poverty. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie, as the executive committee of internal and external reaction can only deceive public opinion because the people are not yet sufficiently educated. Education in 1972 will mean first and foremost that workers, peasants and fighters will understand the origins of the rot which attacks the country.

In fighting malaria, we do not swat flies, we try to identify the swamps that breed the mosquito-larvae in order to eliminate it at its very roots.

## NAMIBIA

The South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) has set up an emergency fund, Namibia Strikers Fund, for helping the suffering and struggling people of Namibia.

Many Namibians have been shot and killed during army and police raids on meetings - even church meetings - and other gatherings. Many of those strikers who went back to work under the new labour system - which is in practice the old contract system in a new disguise - have decided to go back on strike. The families and dependants of strikers have suffered greatly.

The address of NAMIBIA STRIKERS FUND is: Consolidated Credits and Discounts Ltd, 23 Dorset Street, London W1H 4DB.

For more information about the struggle in Namibia contact: Peter H. Katjavivi, SWAPO Representative in Britain, 10 Dryden Chambers, 119 Oxford Street, London W1 (Tel: 01-437 3063).

## MOZAMBIQUE

Frelimo Continues the revolution

With victories on their side, the nationalist forces in Mozambique are posing a real threat to Caetano's government in Lisbon.

Late in February this year a secret conference was held in the Mozambican town, Nampula, to discuss the threat. Present at the meeting were General Deslandes, Portuguese Chief of General Staff, and Admiral Hugo Siermann, designated as South African Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces, who visited Mozambique unannounced. The threat of the nationalist forces was also on the agenda at the Smith/Vorster meeting in Cape Town. "The conclusion", in the words of the *Daily Telegraph* (London), "is inescapable that Mozambique must be defended in the long term if South Africa is not to risk a hostile state on her Indian Ocean border, cutting off Rhodesia from the sea."

The real issue which haunts the imperialists and their settler allies is that Frelimo is firmly established in the Tete province of Mozambique (about the size of England) from which the freedom-fighters have easy access to Gaborone, Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia.

## ANGOLA

UNITA spreads the flames of people's war

SPECIAL MILITARY COMMUNIQUE OF THE ARMED FORCES

While the brothers of Namibia in Ovamboland were facing directly the South African soldiers, after a long period of a successful strike, UNITA spreads the flames of people's war in the Cunene area.

High Portuguese officials, including the Governor-General, Colonel Rebocho Vaz, have flown to Cunene to assess the situation. The situation was described to be very serious and worrying. Meanwhile, several hundred Portuguese colonial soldiers have been sent to the area where some of them met their fate.

The military action in this area by UNITA has been the result of three years of political organisation and mobilisation of the people. UNITA entered Huila Province in 1969.

At the end of December 1971, a Portuguese battalion - Regiment of Sa da Bandeira - moved to the border with Namibia, as a preventive measure. On 20th January 1972 UNITA commandoes after receiving instructions from the Central Headquarters, clashed with a Portuguese patrol at Vila Palva Couceiro, in Huila Province. One of the three military vehicles of the patrol was attacked by our forces and 15 Portuguese soldiers were put out of action and some wounded.

The impact of this political and military action in the Cunene area has been tremendous in the whole Huila province. The Portuguese settlers exploiting the people in the countryside were forced to seek refuge in the town of Sa da Bandeira, and another military contingent was sent immediately to the spot of these engagements.

January 1978

(A fuller report of UNITA's actions will appear in the next issue)



# zimbabwe revolution

(A PART OF THE DOCUMENT FROM THE ZIMBABWE SECTION OF YOSA - THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA - ADDRESSED TO AFRICANS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA)

The headlines are telling the story of the deepening crisis in Southern Africa: "Fifteen thousand Namibian workers strike against the contract labour system; Rhodesian Blacks reject British settlement pact; Frenoh Bayatoh, Dean of Johannesburg, sentenced as a 'terrorist'; Napalm used against Africans in Angola; Mozambique and Guinea Bissau for Portuguese in ever-increasing colonial war."

## SMITH SUPPORTERS IN CONFUSION

Smith and his supporters are in a terrible state of confusion at the moment. Africans have openly and unanimously rejected the London-Salisbury imperialist settlement plan. The position of the Africans is quite clear. Even if some Africans have called for a new round of talks in which Africans would take part, the nature of the British imperialists and their agents in Salisbury, led by Smith, is such that they will not agree as before. Even if they did agree, nothing good would come out of it for the Africans.

It is not wrong in principle to negotiate with the enemy. But it is wrong to negotiate when you are still weak. Our time to negotiate will come when we have liberated three-quarters of the country. We will be stronger than the enemy then, and it will be the enemy who will have to compromise on everything for he will be weaker. At the moment we have almost nothing, and if we had a constitutional conference we would have to compromise everything and get nothing for our people.

In fact for any leader to call for a constitutional conference (when the masses are just getting ready for armed struggle) is to divert the people from the correct course. They will believe you, and stop preparing for a violent struggle, thinking your efforts might succeed. But only fighting can make the fascists see the truth. We can only win by defeating them and not by persuading.

Whether the Pearce Commission comes out with the answer 'Yes' or 'No', or No Answer at all, the fundamental contradictions between the white fascist minority in Rhodesia and the oppressed African majority of Zimbabwe will remain the same. Whether sanctions continue or not, the truth remains that for Africans to take over their country from the capitalist, power-crazy minority they have to engage in the tough-going guerrilla warfare. This is what every Zimbabwean should be thinking about and preparing himself for.

Smith and his imperialist allies have so many fatal contradictions among themselves - added to the fact that theirs is an unjust cause - that they are consequently not as strong as some people would like to believe. They are a paper tiger. What the capitalist world fears greatly is guerrilla warfare based on a mass-line.

The white minority in Southern Africa being a racial minority, leading oppressive unpopular governments, can not use guerrilla warfare against us.

(Continued on page 8)

# IRAN

## Repression of Militants

Where there is fascist repression there must be resistance. Some Iranian students in Britain have given us a list of cases of repression in Iran against people resisting exploitation, humiliation and reactionary brainwashing.

Subsequent to the Conference of American Investors in Iran in May 1970, a wave of protest swept the country to which the regime responded with the arrest of over 1,000 militants, many of whom were subjected to most medieval tortures.

Two progressive militant religious leaders and a progressive intellectual died under torture. Later in the year, a group of militants known under the name 'The Palestine Group', consisting of workers, peasants, civil servants and intellectuals, after long months of imprisonment and tortures of medieval barbarity were given life sentences (death sentences for this group under international public opinion at the time of the Burgos trials were reduced to life sentences). On March 1st 1971, 500 workers of Ziba Factory in Karadj, demanding an increase of their wages from the equivalent of 90 cents a day, staged peaceful demonstrations which were attacked by the commandos, injuring many workers.

## MILITARY FORCES KILL WORKERS

On April 27th 1971, the workers of Chit-Daghan in Karadj, two thousand strong, commenced a long march towards Teheran carrying slogans for the increase of their wages; they were again attacked by the military forces of the regime as a result of which over ten workers were killed and nearly 100 were severely injured.

## RHODESIA COUNTDOWN

16 mm 35 minutes  
(made inside Rhodesia)

The countdown towards violent revolution has started.....

On May 1st, 1971 Teheran University students staging vast demonstrations declared their solidarity with the guerillas and, chanting anti-Shah slogans, opposed the approaching 'festivities' (to celebrate 2,500 years of the monarchy in Iran). These students were joined by large sections of high-school students.

The demonstrators were duly attacked by the police.

## CONDEMNED IN SECRET

In July 1971, a group of seven militants were tried in an illegal military court behind closed doors and two of them were condemned to death - sentences which were summarily carried out.

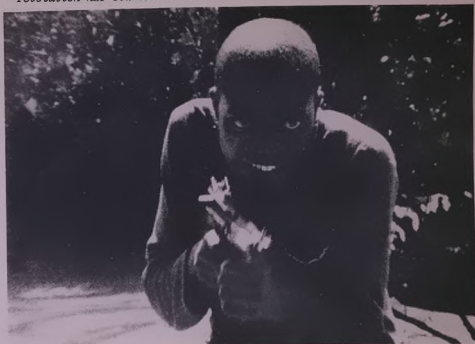
With the preparations for the 2,500th Anniversary celebrations approaching, and the people increasingly opposing the clamorous 'comedy of the century', the regime made it way for the arrest of over 4,000 members of the opposition, of whom five were sacrificed on the dawn of October 10th, the day the Shah's 'Festivities' in Persepolis began.

On January 16th this year, a SAVAK (security police) official in an interview declared that some 120 members of the opposition would be tried for attempts at 'subverting the "constitutional regime" of the Shah'. To this number, some 23 were later added for whom death sentences were hurriedly demanded by the military prosecutor. It is now known, as reported in *The Times* that death sentences have been confirmed on two Iranian patriots, Abass Mefahi and Magid Ahmadzadeh, and we understand they have now been executed.

Information reaching us also reveals that there are two active revolutionary organisations which are a special target of the Shah's government in Iran. One is called 'Siakhal' which is a Marxist-Leninist organisation; the other one is the 'Organisation of Combatants of the People of Iran' (OCPI) which has connections with Al Fatah. Siakhal is said to be named after the region in Gilan province in Iran where its first guerrilla battle with government forces took place at the beginning of 1971.

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It is only we who can use it against them.

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the movement leading the struggle, the African National Council (ANC) has transformed itself into a political party. What this means is that the Zimbabwe Africans inside Rhodesia are more united than at any other time during the last ten years. They now have one nationalist unitary movement.

The ANC is led by former officials of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and others who were not in those two organisations.

#### VICTORY IS INEVITABLE

Whatever happens to the ANC, at least it has made people at home united and rendered organisations abroad like ZAPU, ZANU and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi) irrelevant to the struggle.

If Smith bans the ANC tomorrow the people of Zimbabwe will still be united and new leaders and different forms of struggle will emerge. The only power Smith and his allies have is that they can obstruct our struggle, but they can't stop it or destroy it. Victory is inevitable. When we will win depends on how soon a sufficient number of us accept and master the rules of protracted guerrilla warfare and the ideology behind it all.

ANC exists today as a permanent uniting organisation of Zimbabweans at home and abroad. This development makes it imperative that ZANU, ZAPU and Frolizi, who claim to be liberation movements, explain why they have not yet formally disbanded. To disband would have been the logical thing to do if they were truly sincere and patriotic. YOSA calls upon them to justify their existence as liberation movements, as they claim they are. Thank heavens, most of their former members no longer take them seriously. If the three of them put together still have more than 150 members - including the members of their "central committees" - it would be surprising.

If they do not disband now and the ANC is banned in Rhodesia, it means Zimbabwe will have four representatives representing four liberation movements. And these will be in London, Moscow, Lusaka, Cairo, Algiers, Dar-es-Salaam and Washington. How ridiculous!

#### STRATEGY AND TACTICS DECIDING FACTORS

Whether the ANC will continue effectively as an underground movement after it has been banned depends of course on its strategy, tactics and ideological outlook. ZAPU and ZANU did not succeed because of their uncompromisingly petty-bourgeois outlook.

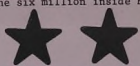
Anybody who genuinely wants to support the Zimbabwe struggle should support the people fighting inside the country. The handful of people abroad who still continue to call themselves "liberation movement leaders" must become just ordinary supporters and activists in the struggle for a free Zimbabwe. As YOSA has always pointed out, you cannot lead a revolution from London or Lusaka by post or through radio messages.

#### GETTING PRIORITIES CLEAR

International solidarity is important and should be encouraged. But it is

not essential for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Solidarity by the UN, OAU and foreign allies of the Zimbabwe people should be taken as supplementary because on its own it will never get the Zimbabwe struggle anywhere. The Zimbabwe liberation struggle has had tremendous solidarity from abroad for the last twelve years. But the liberation of the people has made hardly any progress. Solidarity campaigns are only important if there is serious fighting inside Rhodesia. Zimbabweans should not concentrate on solidarity struggles (especially if they are leaders). They should concentrate on how to fight and how to involve more people inside Rhodesia. Southern Africa solidarity is good for foreigners. But Zimbabweans and other people of Southern Africa must ideologically understand their priorities.

The thousands of Zimbabweans who are outside Rhodesia, scattered all over the world (over 100,000 of whom are in Zambia alone) must get in touch with each other, and unite for action with the six million inside Rhodesia.



## INDOCHINA

#### THE POSITION OF INDO-CHINA

#### AGAINST US SAVAGE AGGRESSION RE-STATED

*LIBERATION STRUGGLE publishes part of the appeal and resolutions of the Paris World Assembly for Peace and Independence which summarises the Indochina question very well. This conference, which took place from 11th to 15th February 1972, was attended by 1,800 delegates from 84 countries. It was thus the largest and most representative meeting ever held in support of the struggle of the Indochinese peoples.*

*All the nations of the world have an inalienable right, the right to peace. This applies to the peoples of Indochina also.*

*And yet, for over a quarter century, they have been forced to take up arms in defence of their lives and their dignity, their independence and their freedom.*

The government of the United States has decided, as part of its world strategy, to dominate this part of the world.

Confronted with the determined resistance of the peoples of Indochina, and the pressure of public opinion the world over, including the United States, President Nixon has been forced to withdraw some US ground troops from South Vietnam, and to talk about peace.

This does not mean that he has given up the pursuit of the war. On the contrary, the war is intensified through more bombing and with the utilisation of more deadly weapons in a more systematic destruction of human life.

Indochina has become a testing ground for these sophisticated weapons. No one can say, so far, to what future use they will be put.

We demand for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the unrestricted right to peace, freedom and independence.

We demand that the government of the United States rapidly and totally withdraw all its armed forces from this part of the world, that it name the precise date for this withdrawal, that it put an end to aerial and military actions against the Indochinese peoples.

We demand that the US government cease all support to the governments it has established and which are manipulated instruments of war and neo-colonialism, and that it allow the peoples of Indochina freely to decide their own destiny without any foreign interference.

For over three years the Nixon government has endeavoured to deceive public opinion by trying to make people believe it wants to put an end to the conflict, whereas in fact during these three years the war has been carried on and intensified in Vietnam and Laos, and Cambodia has been invaded.

The Nixon government has been compelled to withdraw an important part of its land forces fighting in Vietnam but, on the other hand, with the policy of Vietnamisation, the US has replaced GIs with a huge US-equipped and US-paid Saigon army.

#### NIXON'S STRATEGY AT DEAD END

Nixon's strategy, however, has come to a dead end: nowhere in Vietnam, in Laos, in Cambodia, has the Nixon Doctrine succeeded. The political situation of the puppet regimes in Saigon, in Vientiane and in Phnom-Penh is more and more precarious, due to the development of an opposition now extending through all strata of the population and to all sectors of public opinion.

#### NOT AN ISOLATED STRUGGLE

The diverse help of the socialist countries, committed to peace and freedom, the strengthening of solidarity movements in many countries and the broad support of world public opinion have already brought the fighting peoples of Indochina concrete proof that they are not isolated in the struggle they carry on for all the peoples of the world.

In the United States particularly, protest against the war is voiced more and more strongly, in many ways, such as draft evasions, desertion, resistance, demonstrations, now even of soldiers. The Assembly calls for support for these progressive and anti-war forces in the United States, and asks governments to grant asylum to deserters and to support their right to repatriation. Together, the peoples of the world will effectively help to force the US government to restore peace, independence and freedom to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

*Vietnam International*

#### ATTENTION

Since *Liberation Struggle* is an anti-imperialist forum, material published in this newspaper is the responsibility of the writers and does not necessarily reflect the opinion of CWJ as an organisation.



Comrade Editor,

The Afro Shikari Youth League, London Branch, would like to send our good wishes for success to the revolutionary and militant paper **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**. This is the sort of organ that we all have been waiting for. The paper should spread all truth about the man's activities at home and abroad.

I believe that this is another contribution to the revolutionary people - 'developing' countries.

Comrade Editor, please explain to the people of the Exploited World about the dangers of Imperialism. We all, or may I say that some of us know that Imperialism knows no law beyond its own interest and it is natural that despite the pretensions of its agents to justice and fair play they always seek their interests first.

Yours in struggle, MOHAMED U. VUAI,  
London W1

Dear Editor,

We have read your paper **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** with intense interest. We believe that your paper will continue to act as a catalyst, to bring about the kind of awareness and consciousness necessary among the people of the Third World, and will foster Scientific Socialism on a macro scale.

Our constructive criticism is that **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** would attract more readers such as the black Britons and black settlers if you laid emphasis on the objective and concrete situation of black people in Britain. Special stress ought to be laid on the harassment of Black people at the hands of the police, victimisation of black people by unscrupulous landlords, relegation of black children in educationally sub-normal schools, treatment of liberation fighters in Britain, in prison differentiation in social status in terms of pigmentation of the skin, racist Commonwealth Immigration Act, the deportation of black people, the harassment of black people by immigration officers at point of entry.

However, we wish you every success in your venture.

THE FREE UNIVERSITY OR BLACK STUDIES, incorporating THE AFRO ASIAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION, BARON M. JADHAKAN (Secretary), London

Comment: We hope your members can help by sending us reports and articles on the subjects you mentioned. (Editor)

Dear Editor,

After reading the first two editions of the newspaper **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**, I have (after between three and four months of searching) at last found the ideal 'underground' newspaper, which is perfectly suited to my own research and educational needs. To show just how much I appreciate this, you will find enclosed a £5 postal order, to help in covering the costs of the production of **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** and would like very much to continue receiving this valuable paper.

Yours, A. MARTIN, Staffs, England.

# LETTERS

to the editor

Dear Comrades,

I should appreciate it if you could suggest to me any research sources for information about US involvement in Ethiopia, and particularly concerning the Amara base. Our aim is to get enough material to publish as articles, perhaps as a pamphlet.

In England, information should be sent to: ETHIOPIA RESEARCH GROUP, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1, who would be glad to hear from ex-servicemen particularly, or anyone with details of the working of the Kagnew base near Amara.

I am a former editor of **PEACE NEWS**, where I worked from 1962 to 1967. Currently I'm working in the English-language news service of Agence France-Press in Paris, and I have relatively recently returned from Tanzania, where I worked for 10 months on the government newspaper, the **STANDARD**. The group I'm working with here is a very small informal one.

I would like to take out a subscription to **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**.

Greetings, RODERICK PRINCE,  
Paris

Dear Editor,

Most of my friends have bought **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** and they think that the paper is very liberal - you don't come out in the open as Marxist-Leninist supporters.

I wish you all the best in the struggle against the neurotic capitalist system and all its evils.

With anti-imperialist regards,  
(Miss) M. MAHOMMED, London W.

Dear Comrades,

It is good to see a paper like **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** appear. Its most important feature, as a paper, is that it embraces within the scope of its reporting the major fronts of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Now, to some criticism. I noticed a shortage of photographs, but I understand this will be remedied in the future. A piece of writing which conveys a dynamic and revolutionary message deserves to be presented in a dynamic and revolutionary manner, and there is room for improvement in this respect. Perhaps in each future issue you could devote several pages to a special feature, in which a CWI writer can write a long article, and a specialist in that field can have a page to put forward his ideas, and those of his people. Sometimes you may be able to have a writer direct from the scenes of the major anti-imperialist struggles writing for you.

Yours fraternally, JOHN R. GEE,  
Chester, England.



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## humanity's burden

by ROBERT GOVENER

The first of a series of reviews which **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** will be publishing from the pen of an experienced and widely acclaimed South African writer.

This month he reviews the **POST PRISON WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** (published by Jonathan Cape at £1.75).

The American police are out to get Cleaver largely because of his great strength and influence as a black revolutionary writer. They heartily detest his association with the Black Panther movement. It is no secret that the police are openly at war with the Panthers and have used every illegal and hoodlun tactic to destroy this courageous band of black freedom fighters. Their trigger-happy fingers are itching for more victims.

### NO RECONCILIATION

White America has killed any hope of reconciliation, or any hope of change by peaceful and non-violent means. Cleaver proclaims this terrible truth:

'So that it becomes clear that the only way for black people in this country to get things that they want - and the things that they have a right to and that they deserve - is to meet fire with fire.'

Now the gun will face the gun. They will talk to America in its own cherished language of violence. Confronted by the intensity of black feeling which Cleaver so powerfully expresses, one wonders how white America can complacently and blandly carry on its role as world policeman while the funeral pyres are being lit with such a vengeance from within. Cleaver is full of despair when he writes - despair not for the black man but for America!

'I think that America is incapable of understanding anything relevant to human rights. I think that America has already committed suicide and we who now thrash within its dead body are also dead part and parcel of the corpse. America is truly a disgusting burden upon this planet. A burden upon all humanity.'

## Somalia Explains Itself

Since 1969, all the campaigns have helped in laying the foundation for the creation of a socialist economy in Somalia.

The nationalisation of key industries and sources of production has shown immense gains. It has been possible to offset budget deficits and create funds for new development projects without calling upon outside loans or technical assistance. The overall position of the nation is today better than it has ever been and this is the achievement of carefully laid programmes and the wholehearted collaboration of the masses.

In getting the socialism campaign off the ground, Jaalle Siad Barre (the President of Somalia) has pointed out that this is not merely an exercise for intellectuals. It is a phased plan that is aimed at giving everyone a fair share of the nation's wealth - and everyone means ordinary Somali, the man in the street. The adoption of socialism has given many the opportunity to create confusion and doubts in the minds of the people. But when one looks at the principles of socialism carefully, it will soon become apparent that the whole concept is designed to uplift the masses economically and thus to help them to a better life.

### SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM TO THE INTEREST OF THE BROAD MASSES

At this time when we want to free ourselves from ignorance, disease and poverty which have been forced upon us by the forces of reaction and imperialism, when all the revolutionary Somalis are struggling shoulder to shoulder to create a better society for themselves and for the future generations, the evil forces of imperialism and their lackeys will spare no efforts to hinder our progress. They will use all the available means to distract us from our objectives.

Scientific socialism is to the interest of the broad masses, for the nomads, the farmers, the workers, the soldiers, the intellectuals, the small merchants and the unemployed. It is against the exploiters, the puppets of foreign monopolistic capital and all those who were accustomed to unlawful gains.

Socialism is not a hollow theory; it is not intellectual mental exercise, but it is the creative efforts of the working people in finding solutions to social problems, tempered by truth and based on practice. No theory is valid unless it could be applied to reality, and scientific socialism has been proved to be practical, and originates from the truthful experience of humanity; other people were able to apply socialism according to their own conditions, we also can build it in our own specific conditions.

### BALANCE NOW IN FAVOUR OF THE MAJORITY

Capitalism and socialism are two distinct forces and there is an inherent contradiction between them. These two forces have irreconcilable interests and their struggle is at times overt and at times covert. In the past, the political power, as well as the economic domination, was in the hands of the reactionary forces. The revolution has changed the balance in favour of



Somalia's President, Siad Barre

the majority, the exploited forces came into the forefront and the dominators became the dominated.

The revolutionary system has dealt with, giving one blow after another, the interests of those who plundered the nation and its wealth. However, we shall be deceiving ourselves if we take for granted that the enemy is completely dealt with. The enemy is seriously injured but is still alive.

It is desperately trying to hide its defeat and to survive, at the expense of the toiling people, by viciously applying wicked stratagems.

Long live Socialism, Long live the unity of Somali people for progress and socialist justice.

(From DAWN, February 4th 1972, Mogadishu, Somalia)



## Europe-Africa Research Bulletin

The Basement 101-103 Gower Street London WC1E 6AA

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In order to make political campaigns or propaganda, to organise teach-ins and seminars, or to carry out any political work, it is very important to have a reasonable amount of background information, analyses and conclusions. This is vital if you are to be clear in your own mind about what you are doing or aiming at. It will also help to win the public over to your side.

The problem with information is not whether it exists or not, but how to get to know where it is and how to get it. For the benefit of study/action groups, students and others, the Europe/Africa Research Project each month gives names and addresses of groups, organisations, centres, new publications and other sources where one can find information on political, economic, military, educational and cultural issues concerning the 'Third World', imperialism and exploitation in general. For reasons of space the Europe/Africa Research Bulletin did not appear in the February issue of *Liberation Struggle*.

Since official information is so easily obtainable from the embassies, government departments and the national press, the Europe/Africa Project will give alternative sources, i.e. anti-establishment, anti-status quo sources. Others will be given only if they are exceptionally useful to researchers or people who want to keep informed.

If you want further information about any of the organisations listed, write direct to them for their literature lists and other details.

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**LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE:** radical news service distributing information to over 200 movement papers in the US with other contacts in Canada, Europe and Latin America. LNS publishes a twice-weekly collection of major news events suitable for re-editing and use by local papers. Each issue includes a section on Latin America. It also features a 'Radical Media Bulletin Board', which accepts and prints valuable announcements and data related to radical movement activities. LNS staff members occasionally accept speaking engagements and/or co-sponsorship of conferences and activities consistent with the material they produce. Address: LNS, 160 Claremont Ave., New York, NY 10027, USA.

**THE PACIFIC STUDIES CENTER (PSC):** founded in the summer of 1969 and has done extensive work on what the Stanford Research Institute (one of the most important ruling class 'think tanks') has long referred to as the 'Pacific Basin'. However, they have not only researched US and Japanese imperialism in this area, but have attempted to relate that to institutions in the US and especially to the political economy of the San Francisco Bay Area. PSC publishes the *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram*. It is also producing special publications such as 'Counter-insurgency Research in Thailand' by Harry Cleaver. PSC is located in Palo Alto California. It grew out of and is responsible to the radical movement and its financial situation is comparable to that of NACLA and ARG (see January issue of *Liberation Struggle* for NACLA and ARG). Address: 1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California, USA.



# Ghana During The Busia Era

Here KWESI SCHECK, CWJ General Secretary and also Overseas Branch Secretary (London) of the CPP of Ghana examines the state of affairs in Ghana during the Busia era. Comrade Kweisi concludes that only the return of Ghana to a correct socialist path can save its people from this predicament.

While Busia's government was in power it proved in every respect that it was only a prolongation of the imperialist-organised military coup that toppled Nkrumah's government.

## GHANA DEGENERATED

When all state industries were handed over to private business concerns - mostly American, British and West German firms - the consequence was vast unemployment, prostitution and wild life of a type noted in American society.

Externally, Ghana was used to serve imperialist interests. In the United Nations, where once Ghana played a useful role, it ceased to do so under Busia. It became a

puppet state and voted in accordance with the wishes of the imperialist countries.

During the UN vote on the admission of China, the *New York Times* rightly stated that Ghana's decision to support the US resolution at the UN was a result of manoeuvres: 'while Ghana had voted for the decision to admit Peking it reserved its position on the expulsion of Taiwan.'

Ghana was also made to advocate a friendly relationship between African states and the South African apartheid regime.

## NEWS ITEMS SET THE SCENE

We shall proceed mainly with news items reported in the Ghanaian press which give a vivid account of the state of affairs in Ghana during the Busia regime.

On April 1st 1971, the Justice Party (the Opposition party in Ghana) and its supporters staged a demonstration in Accra against the government's bill

on local council administration. About 2,000 demonstrators carried placards, some of which read 'No dialogue with South Africa', 'Nkrumah is even better', and 'Where is democracy?' The demonstrators tried to destroy a Progress Party van, but the police strongly intervened (Page 8, *Daily Graphic*, April 12th 1971).

The Justice Party, however, was not a progressive party.

## SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

The party in Ghana which was progressive was the Progressive People's Party. It had a socialist programme. It took the police to court when it was refused a permit to organise a demonstration against the government's attempt to have dialogue with South Africa.

The court decided in its favour and later a big demonstration was organised in Accra condemning the government for betraying the people by advocating this dialogue with South Africa. At the demonstration a large placard requested the government to resign.

## STUDENTS DENOUNCE BUSIA

The National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) also condemned the Busia government's South African policy (*Daily Graphic*, December 16th 1970).

In the *Ghananian Times*, April 19th 1971 under the headline 'The aftermath of the NUGS conference' a writer deceitfully tried to agree and disagree with the NUGS communique without stating clearly what the communique really was.

In fact the communique called on the government to resign and arrange for Nkrumah to return to Ghana. Further it said that if the government failed to resign, the students would feel free to take whatever action was necessary to bring Nkrumah back to power.

This bold action of the students was taken seriously by the government, in view of the unrest in the country.

The irresponsibility of the Busia regime showed itself in the poor attendance of its members in parliament - it was once reported that there were only four members present in parliament (*Daily Graphic*, 1st December 1970).

## DEMONSTRATORS SHOT DEAD

There was also unrest among the workers. On March 15th 1971, three people were shot dead by government troops and 87 were wounded when employees of the African Timber and Plywood Company staged a strike and demonstrated.

A report in the *Daily Graphic* (3rd April 1971) reported 'Electricity Staff on Strike' in one of its headlines and continued: 'A platoon of truncheon-bearing policemen stood guard around the Electricity Corporation building in Accra as the employees of the corporation went on a sit-down strike in demand for better conditions of service, housing allowance and bonus for last year.'

On April 14th 1971 the *Ghananian Times* reported: 'The Construction and Building Trades Workers' Union yesterday threatened to "resort to any action" it might deem fit if no fruitful result comes out of an impending meeting between the union and the Minister of Works and Housing in Accra on April 19.'

(Continued on page 12)

**NEWSREEL:** a nation-wide collective producing and distributing films to expand political awareness on the need for social change. Members available to help analyse and catalyse film content in discussion groups. Newsreel covers events and issues on Latin America, Vietnam and other Third World countries, and exposes situations related to organising in US communities and trends in the movement. Address: 322 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10001, USA. (seven other centres in different parts of the US).

**AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC CENTRE:** among other information services, publishes a bi-monthly journal, *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, which provides librarians, African study groups, educators, university specialists, students and researchers with an up-to-date coverage of published and forthcoming literature on Africans and related subjects. Special features include: annotated book review section; forthcoming publications section; commentary section (original articles or bibliographical essays on specific subjects from noted scholars, institutions and the African Bibliographic Center). Address: PO Box 13096, Washington DC 20009, USA.

**AFRICA 2000:** collects and distributes information on different aspects of Southern Africa and the liberation movements. Address: PO Box CH 191, Chelston, Lusaka, Zambia.

**EUROPE-THIRD WORLD CENTRE:** an information centre which collects and distributes material on the Third World and its relationship with Europe. Address: 27 Chemin des Crets de Pregny, CH-1218 Grand-Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland.

**INSTITUTE FOR WORKERS' CONTROL:** formed in 1968 as a result of a decision of the Sixth Conference for Workers' Control, the Institute's function is to act as a research and educational body, to co-ordinate discussion and communication between workers' control groups and trade unions, to provide lists of speakers and to publish important materials on the subject of industrial democracy and workers' control. Address: 91 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham, England.

**THE ASSOCIATION FOR RADICAL EAST ASIAN STUDIES (AREAS):** aims to promote radical socialist and anti-imperialist studies in the sphere of East and South-East Asia. Holds meetings to discuss various aspects of its work and the current situation. Also publish pamphlets on specific issues, e.g. Japanese Imperialism Today, Indonesia, Korea, etc. Address: 6 Endsleigh Street, 3rd Floor, London WC1.

**LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT:** researches into and provides information on UK companies and firms, labour laws and wages. LRD is a radical research institution financed by British trade unions; it publishes a monthly magazine *Labour Research*. Address: 78 Blackfriars Road, London SE1.

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If you know of any information sources or any publications (in any part of the world) useful as sources of information, please write to the Europe/Africa Research Project Bulletin (address as above) so that they can be entered in this column. Write a short piece stating the address, aims and some of the publications produced or the kind of information available. We cannot guarantee to publish more than 80 words on each of the sources you describe.

If you are looking for information on a topic not covered by the sources given so far, write to the Bulletin.

The black or brown child, immigrant or British born, faces a very particular set of disadvantages in the educational system. In the first instance he faces more or less blatant racism from the society, from other children, and from many teachers. A teacher who has not heard the black child in his or her school being called 'Black monkey', 'Blackie', or 'Wog' has not been listening carefully enough. In the second place, this racism is reinforced from the point of view of the black child by the fact that there is no black material, no pictures of black people in ordinary urban situations, no books with black people in them unless

they are exotic about foreign lands in the school. It also reinforces the racism of the white child who can look at all the material made available to him and say to himself 'if blacks were not inferior there would be pictures of them and books about them in school; as there are not, then it must be true'.

So the black child loses both self image and self confidence by being severed from and deprived of his cultural heritage, at an early age, and by the time he reaches secondary school he is alienated from the system which he thinks has nothing to offer him. This process is further compounded by an increasing alienation from his own culture and background which is regarded by most teachers either with contempt or as a 'problem'. In such a situation no child is motivated to learn, and racial tensions within the school can grow to frightening proportions. There are many schools in London, and no doubt in other urban ghetto areas where playground race fights are a daily occurrence.

Black Studies and the restoring of black history and culture are a very vital step in breaking this terrible circle of oppression, discrimination, alienation, and breakdown of communication between the child and the school, between black and white. It

has been the experience of several T.A.R. members that where children were getting 'black education', black history, a sense of their own value, past and culture, it not only greatly improved their learning capacity in the general school system, but also reduced race tensions in those schools.

(For further information about T.A.R. contact central organiser: 9 Huddleston Road, London N.7.)



## right-wing prosperity

Brazil's 'right-wing prosperity' is currently receiving the enthusiastic acclaim of much of the Western press who gleefully compare its booming stock exchange to the state of 'almost bankrupt Chile with its leftist President'. While the US and local big business interests put pressure on Chile to halt its nationalisation policies, Brazil, which welcomes foreign investment, has received \$6 billion in US government aid to bolster up its right-wing military dictatorship.



Brazil

Almost half the \$4 billion direct private investment in Brazil is from US firms, among which are the well-known multinational corporations General Electric, Kodak and IBM (Brazil's biggest exporter).

### ECONOMY GOING WELL PEOPLE NOT SO WELL

But although the country's gross national product advanced more than 11 per cent to \$40 billion, with a reported boom in consumer spending on TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and other appliances, and with investment growing because of special tax concessions, it is only a minority who have really cashed in on this 'economic success'. Even the country's President has had to admit 'the economy is going well, the people not so well.'

The US magazine *Time* commented (February 1972): 'The benefits of the new wealth have been largely confined to the middle-class minority, while the majority remains mired in varying degrees of poverty.'

### MULTI-RACIAL MYTH

The prosperity myth is matched by another - that of Brazil being a 'truly multi-racial society'. Despite the official pronouncements that all are equal in Brazil, there is racist oppression and a consequent alienation among the Negroes who form one-tenth of the population of 96 million.

The regime makes it no secret that it intends to stay in power by an indefinite suspension of civil liberties, and thanks to the assistance it gets from its racist, imperialist allies.

A. RAMUR

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Do you want to join the Centre for Writers and Journalists from the Exploited World (CWJ) which publishes *LIBERATION STRUGGLE*? You are eligible to join if you are a writer or a journalist or one involved or interested in collecting and distributing information about the struggle, one who believes in world revolution - and if you are from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America or any other part of the Exploited World. You would be both an Associate Member of CWJ and a Special Correspondent of *LIBERATION STRUGGLE*, if you wish. By joining CWJ you will:

- (1) receive a free copy of *LIBERATION STRUGGLE* every month, along with any other publications, circulars and broadsheets CWJ may produce;
- (2) get free criticism of your articles and manuscripts to prepare them for publication;
- (3) get free advice on markets for your articles and manuscripts;
- (4) get special consideration for your reports and articles for publication in *LIBERATION STRUGGLE*;
- (5) be put in touch with other revolutionary information workers and critics throughout the world;
- (6) be supplied with information on writers' and journalists' training schemes in any part of the world you may be interested in;
- (7) be issued with a small identity paper marked Press Card stating that you are an Associate Member of CWJ and a Special Correspondent of *LIBERATION STRUGGLE*, that any help in your work will be highly appreciated. The card will have your name, address a passport photograph, signature and the address of CWJ.

If you are interested, please fill in the form below.

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Cheques and money orders should be made payable to: Afro-Journalism Fund.

Applications to be sent to: General Secretary, CWJ, The Basement, 101-103 Cowser St, London WC1E 6AA, England.



# ISRAELIS

## VERSUS

# ISRAEL

The population of Israel (within the pre-June 1967 borders) is divided into three major ethnic groups: European Jews (a little over 40 per cent); Oriental Jews (a little under 50 per cent); Arabs (a little over 10 per cent). Thus, of the total of roughly three million about 1.5 million are Oriental Jews. This ethnic division is also by and large a class division. Whereas the majority of the Arabs are employed in unskilled and seasonal work, the Oriental Jews constitute the bulk of the Israeli working class and are employed mainly in semi-skilled jobs. The European Jews are the foremen, professionals, bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists.

This description is, of course, of a statistical and schematic nature. Although the Israeli Arabs are the most oppressed, discriminated against and underpaid section of the Israeli population we shall describe here the discrimination practiced within the Jewish community, i.e. the discrimination of the Oriental Jews by European Jews.

### Most deprived section

According to the Statistical Yearbook published by the Israeli Government in 1969, out of the entire Jewish population, 4 per cent of the families had 4 or more persons living in one room; but among the Oriental Jews the percentage of such families is nearly 8 per cent. In the Jewish primary schools (age groups 6 to 14) children from Oriental families constituted about 60 per cent of all pupils, whereas in secondary schools less than 40 per cent; and in the last form of grammar schools (17/18) they constituted less than 121 per cent. Only 4 per cent of the Oriental Jews over the age of 14 have more than elementary education, whereas among European Jews the figure is nearly 16 per cent (amongst the Arabs 1.3 per cent).

Amongst the registered unemployed (over 65,000 in 1968) the Oriental Jews numbered more than twice the Europeans. The figures concerning slum dwellers and people living at subsistence level show an even more marked discrimination of Oriental Jews when compared to European Jews. Despite the proclaimed Zionist ideology which aspires to fuse together all the various ethnic Jewish groups, the actual facts, as shown by many surveys, reveal that the social and economic gap has steadily increased.

In addition to the economic and social discrimination, particular bitterness is caused by cultural discrimination. The ruling strata - almost exclusively of European origin - have imposed their own, East-European Jewish culture on the rest of the population; they often mention the 'danger of the Levantisation of Israel' which, according to them, would arise if the Oriental Jews maintain their specific culture.

Recently the Prime Minister, Mrs Meir, went as far as to declare (in New York) that a Jew who does not speak Yiddish (a German-Jewish dialect spoken exclusively by European Jews) is not a proper Jew. In a variety of ways, the Oriental Jews are made to feel culturally inferior. This cultural imperialism is exacerbated by the patronising attitudes of the European Jewish establishment.

### Racist attitudes and police brutality

The bitterness of the Oriental Jews has recently been aggravated by the arrival of a new wave of immigration from Russia, after 1967. The Israeli establishment, which has a special interest in this immigration for political reasons, gave these immigrants special privileges. These privileges include good flats in new houses (under very good payment terms), good jobs, etc. The Oriental Jewish immigrant who has lived in a slum for many years sees the new immigrants getting government subsidised flats which he knows he will never acquire. On top of this many of the new Russian immigrants display particularly open and obnoxious racist attitudes towards their Oriental 'brethren'.

An additional factor is the recent marked increase in police brutality in dealing with the youth in the Oriental ghettos. Since the 1967 war, the Israeli police, in particular the Jerusalem police, had to deal with Arab protest and resistance in the occupied territories. In this confrontation the police have adopted increasingly brutal methods, in many cases causing the death of Arab detainees. The police have become addicted to brutality and sadism and apply the same treatment to Oriental Jewish youth living in slums.

### 'Black' Jews

All these factors gave rise, at the beginning of 1971, to the creation of a militant group of young Oriental Jews in Jerusalem who decided to call themselves Black Panthers. In actual fact many Oriental Jews have a swarthy skin, although the colour differences between the various ethnic groups is not sharp. The term 'blacks' has often been used in a derogatory sense with reference to the Oriental Jews.

One of the founders (in an interview in HA'ARETZ, March 1971) explained the choice of the name: 'We decided to set up some organisation, and we knew that an organisation like that exists abroad, in the United States, that it is called "the Black Panthers", and is struggling for rights. There the discrimination is between negroes and whites, and we felt that we are almost like them.'

Information from Black Panthers in Israel

### NEW INFORMATION BUREAU

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## Support The Struggle

## Of The People

## Of Turkey

The wild onslaught of the fascist Sunay-Tagmac-Erim gang against our people is increasing daily. In order to justify the further extension of martial law to world and Turkish public opinion, the fascists issued new "Wanted" lists, promised reward money to informers and gave the reason that "conditions which lead the Turkish nation into anarchy and disrupt national unity" had not been eliminated. A further two-month extension of martial law was easily passed through the reactionary parliament.

Late last year (1971) 80 patriots (professors, judges, students and workers) were arrested in Trabzon charged with 'forming an illegal organisation to overthrow the constitutional system', and were turned over to the Ankara martial law authority. In reality these 80 patriots had refused to say 'yes' to the oppression and savagery of the fascist gang, and had defended the rights of the people against oppression. They were therefore sent to fascist prisons. According to the fascist penal law, the charge made against these patriots carries the death sentence.

On 3rd December 1971 the military tribunal in Ankara sentenced Professor Murtaz Soysal, the Dean of Ankara University, Political Science Faculty and Professor of Constitutional Law in the same faculty, to six years and eight months in prison. The charge was made against Professor Soysal was that he 'propagated communism in his textbook "Introduction to Constitutional Law" written in 1965'. In fact, Professor Murtaz Soysal is a progressive jurist who has struggled against the reactionary Demirel government for the creation of true democracy in Turkey. He is a patriot who has defended the cause of the people in the university.

In a later case brought by the Ankara martial law court the prosecutor asked for heavy prison sentences for many revolutionaries and patriots who are members of DEV-GENC (The Federation of Revolutionary Youth). In the same case the prosecutor demanded the death sentence for Oral Cilaslar and Gln Cilaslar and Gln Zileli, both on the editorial board of the periodical 'Proletarian Revolutionary Aydinlik'.

The terror used by the fascists against the revolutionaries and patriots is part of the overall oppression of our people. The fascist gang is the enemy of all our people. It aims to enslave the masses and silence and eliminate the people's struggle. It has put the full weight of the economic crisis on the shoulders of the toiling masses. The prices of basic necessities have risen 100 per cent since 12th March 1971, new taxes have been imposed, causing severe hardship to the toiling masses. Meat costs 21-25 TL per kilo, beans 7 TL per kilo and coal 800 TL per ton, yet the daily wage of a worker is 12-15 TL and the salary of an average state employee 500-600 TL. In order to impose a wage freeze on the workers the gov-

(Continued on next page)

ernment bans and suppresses by force the economic struggle of the worker.

#### WORKERS AND PEASANTS FIGHT ON

Workers who resist the oppression are dismissed by force of arms, sent to prison and condemned to unemployment and hunger. Peasants who rise against the brutal landlords are gunned down by the gendarmerie of the fascist state. In a recent incident gendarmes were sent against the peasants in Mardin province who had rebelled against the landlords, and two poor peasants were killed in the struggle. Patriotic youths who oppose fascism are shot down in the streets. The oppression of the Kurdish masses has intensified.

Despite all this fascist violence our people's struggle advances.

The workers are joining in the struggle against oppression by the bosses. The fight is taken up in every factory. Last year the workers of Topuz Torcelik occupied their factory when nine of their friends were dismissed by the bosses. The workers stopped production in the Istanbul Kinas factory when the boss dismissed the workers' representative. In Partek, Hizarcelik and Ibrahim Etem factories thousands of workers continued their strike in spite of armed repression. Again, despite the oppression, the workers of Sise-Cam factory forced the bosses into accepting their demands. The just struggle of our working class will not be stopped.

Equally it is impossible to suppress the struggle of the peasants for land

and freedom. The peasants know the real motives which lie behind the false 'land reforms' of the fascist Erim government, they do not expect land and freedom from that gang. They struggle against the cruel landlords, depending only on their own strength. In certain areas this struggle is becoming an armed struggle.

#### REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

The Union of Revolutionary Youth is organising the youth against the regime. Resisting all fascist oppression, the Kurdish masses continue their fight.

Patriotic officers take their place among the ranks of the people. On 3rd December 1971 many patriotic officers were thrown into fascist prisons. They are charged with helping five patriots in their escape from prison.

Our people's struggle has intensified the contradictions within the fascist gang. Eleven ministers, who had hoped to pacify the people through some formal reforms, resigned from the Erim government. The reality is that these ministers were forced to retire by our people's struggle. Our people know what these so-called reforms mean in reality.

The Erim government had put forward proposals for so-called reforms in order to establish 'law and order' and to eliminate 'anarchy'. However, in spite of the propaganda for reform, order was not established. What the fascists call anarchy is, in fact, our

people's struggle against exploitation and oppression. No force will ever stop this just struggle of our people. Furthermore, what the fascist dictators mean by 'law and order' is the undisturbed exploitation of our people.

Our heroic people have always struggled against exploitation. This struggle can never be contained. The crisis within the government stems from the failure to carry out these so-called reforms and to establish 'law and order'. Shortly after the resignation of the eleven ministers, Erim also resigned. The ruling classes are now in a new political crisis and are seeking new methods to suppress our people's struggle.

Our people, who have always fully supported the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the world, expect in their just struggle the broadest support of the peoples of the world, and of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

Circulate this declaration from hand to hand! Reproduce it. Publish it in your publications. Our people in their resistance against fascist oppression expect this from you.



From The United Patriotic Front  
of Turkey  
Case Postale: 7  
Dudelange, Luxembourg

## BRITAIN HANDS OFF HONG KONG

A Statement by the ASSOCIATION FOR  
RADICAL EAST ASIAN STUDIES, London  
- March 1972 -

Hong Kong is Britain's most important colony. In it, over four million Chinese people are deprived of the most elementary rights. In terms of economic strength, it is the number one colonial territory on the globe, and is the major bridgehead for economic penetration throughout the area. Not only does British capitalism oppress the people of Hong Kong, but also uses its profits to prop up the pound and further the oppression of the British proletariat. Here in Britain, many thousands of Hong Kong Chinese are exploited as cheap immigrant labour.

Britain has itself used Hong Kong, and made it available to US imperialism, as a base for subversive and military activities against the peoples of China and South East Asia. From its origins in the Opium War, down to the present day, British rule has distinguished itself by its atrocious fostering of exploitation, racism, repressive violence, corruption and moral degeneracy of every kind. The vast profits, the lack of political rights, the promotion of colonial culture and education, the festering problems of drugs and prostitution with government connivance, the abysmal social services, the miserable working conditions and the tenement racketeering all form an inter-connected whole. The mildest protests against all this are suppressed by para-military police, British troops and Churka mercenaries.

(A) We recognise that the separate treaties which, by force of arms, coerced China into temporarily abstaining from exercising her sovereign rights over that part of her territory which is now the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong are illegitimate and must be revoked.

(B) We completely repudiate British colonial rule over Hong Kong as illegitimate and unjust.

We condemn British colonial exploitation and oppression of the people of Hong Kong and the criminal manifestations of British occupation.

We condemn Britain making Hong Kong available as a base for imperialist and neo-colonialist activities against the peoples of Asia.

We condemn British capitalism's exploitation of Hong Kong to maintain its oppression of the British proletariat.

And we condemn all this whether committed by Britain singly, or in collusion.

(C) Hong Kong is part of China. We support the struggle of the people of Hong Kong to put an end to British colonialism.

(D) The Chinese people have an absolute right to decide when and how to bring an end to British colonialism in Hong Kong. But we are responsible for British colonialism, and we call on the British people to play their part in this process and fight for its elimination. We appeal to anti-imperialists everywhere to support this struggle.

The Association for Radical East Asian Studies (AREAS), 6 Endsleigh Street  
(3rd Floor), London WC1.



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# CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

*This is the basement of the British Museum. This is where they keep their vast collections of African art, tools, furniture, musical instruments, clothes and weapons. We are going to take a look at what they have in their collection. Similar collections can be found in the museums of all the former colonial powers in Europe.*

The main part of these collections was acquired during the period of colonial rule. The objects were brought back to Europe by officers, tradesmen, missionaries and the colonial specialists called ethnographers.

## PLASTIC TOMBS

On the whole the collection represents the looting of a conquering army. When a British expeditionary force sacked the city of Benin (Nigeria) in 1897, they took with them more than 3,000 art objects, many of which are still locked away and kept in boxes and plastic bags in these rooms.

Ethnographers were sent to the colonies to collect any kind of objects made by the Africans. The Europeans never brought with them their own works of art to Africa. No European artist at that time seems to have gone to Africa to learn about African art. Why then did the colonisers bring back to Europe the chair of a chief, a statue used for worship, an ancestor's image, a pipe with tobacco still in it, a comb and a vessel to contain food?

During the long period of European slave trade in Africa, there was little interest in African art. The Europeans began collecting art objects when they changed from slave trading to direct colonial administration. The colonisers established regimes in Africa to suit the particular role the colonies played in their own economies. Their attitude to African civilisation stems from this basic concept. To establish their rule in the colonies they made an all-out attack on African civilisation, social structures, religions, languages and art.

## DESTRUCTION FROM WITHIN

In cultural and social affairs a particular tactic was employed by the colonisers: certain parts of cultural and social life were allowed to continue, but only after they had been reduced to a state where they could be controlled. After the power of the chiefs and the chiefs had been broken, some were reinstated by the colonial administration - to be used by them. After an all-out attack on African religions some ceremonies were encouraged to present an African facade. These are the tactics of destroying a civilisation from within, like the tactics of brainwashing. The purpose was to destroy the civilisation the colonisers found, to brainwash Africans into believing that their own civilisation was inferior, whilst at the same time insisting on preserving an African facade under foreign rule.

What was the purpose of the ethnographic collections in Europe? They were displayed in such a way as to establish a cultural hierarchy. Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Assyrian objects were given prominent place in their museums,



*The basement of the British Museum*

whereas objects from Africa were crammed into small rooms or hidden away. The purpose of the ethnographic collections was to establish for the white man which are the higher civilisations and which are the primitive ones.

The ethnographic collections were used in the ideology of colonialism which talks about backward races and primitive civilisations. This is why the colonisers bothered to collect material from a civilisation they had set about destroying. The colonisers did not collect material in order to understand the civilisation they encountered. They did not try to understand it, but dismissed what they saw as something that was of no intrinsic value. The material they collected was used as propaganda material against Africans.

## TWO-FACED PRAISE

Now that they have discovered that this material speaks for Africa, they cling on to it and try once more to use it to their own advantage. After African countries had achieved independence, the former colonial powers began to change their tone when they talked about African civilisation. Not long ago they talked about the colonised as backward races with primitive civilisations. Now they talk about the masterpieces of African art. Not long ago they lectured to Africans about European civilisation. Now they talk about Benin bronzes and Ife sculpture. Not long ago it was fashionable to suppose that Africa had no history before the Europeans came. Now African history is taught in Europe and America. Not long ago creative activity amongst the colonised was discouraged and looked upon with suspicion. Now exhibitions of contemporary African art are arranged in Europe.

Suddenly the former colonial powers have changed their tune, suddenly they have rediscovered Africa. But this rehabilitation of African art is suspect. First the colonialists destroy a civilisation and condemn it as primitive and non-human. Then they rehabilitate

certain parts of it as examples of a high civilisation. They present themselves as experts on the subject and decide which are the masterpieces of African art. The European attitude of today resembles the attitude of the colonisers, who decided which customs and traditions should be allowed to continue.

## CLASS DIVISION

Because Europe and America have the most important collections of African art objects, they can feed back to Africa a certain image of what is traditional African art. Today the advanced industrial countries need an African middle class that is orientated towards the West, and they find it necessary to distinguish between Africans of higher and lower classes. The image of African art they feed back to Africa is meant for the African middle class. The Western theories on African civilisation depend on what kind of African society the advanced industrial countries need. Portugal, which is still an old-fashioned colonial power, has not changed its attitude towards the African nor his civilisation - not to mention the whites in South Africa.

Museums in Africa have very little to show of their past. They say that the material is more easily accessible in Europe. But accessible to whom? Many books cannot replace the material that is now kept outside Africa. Why should Africans, including artists, only be able to read about their own works of art in books written by white people?

This is why young and progressive people are demanding that African governments explain why they can't see their cultural heritage in their own countries.

(from *YOU HIDE ME* - a film made by our Cultural and Arts Editor, KWATE NEE-OWOO)



## liberation struggle

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